THE SHAPE OF DISCOURSE IN URBAN MOVEMENTS THROUGH THE LENS OF SOCIAL MEDIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE ANTI-REDEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT IN SOUTH KOREA

A Thesis
Presented to
The Academic Faculty

By

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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of City & Regional Planning in the
School of City & Regional Planning

Georgia Institute of Technology

May 2021

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Date approved: May 1, 2021

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SUMMARY

This study explored the shape of discourse around the anti-redevelopment movement in Seoul, South Korea, and investigated the effects of social media in the urban movement. The site was an old manufacturing district in Euljiro street, where small manufacturing workshops have agglomerated for the last decades and are now being demolished under the city's redevelopment plan. While struggles around forced demolition and redevelopment have been perpetuated in the country's urbanization process, the movement in Euljiro distinguished itself by mobilizing young activists and artists. They framed the struggle with the goals of preserving the industry ecosystem and promoting urban diversity. Social media has been part of the activism since they joined the movement. I used a mixed-method approach combining interviews and social media analysis to investigate the different standpoint of the tenants, the activists, and general citizens toward the redevelopment and how social media affected the shape of discourse.

The analyses found that the activists' new framing and social media activities gathered attention and external supports to the struggle. The attention was translated into participatory actions online. The social media analysis revealed that the ways people on social media related themselves to the place were varied, associated with the spectrum of stance toward the redevelopment. The analysis also found confusions, conflicts, and reflective discussions among the different standpoints, which led to a discussion of the limitation of social media activism and ways to overcome it. Based on the findings, I discussed questions regarding how different parties in urban space react and adjust to the changing media landscape and how to sustain localized activism in urban movements within the changes. There has been growing attention to urban movements and social media in urban governance as participatory practices become a crucial agenda in urban governance and development. Still, few studies have explored social media in bottom-up actions to impact urban development processes. As one of the few studies, this study contributes to the literature on both topics.

It also adds to the discussion around how urban societies can work together within the changing media and technology landscape.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This study explores the shape of discourses around the anti-redevelopment movement in Seoul, South Korea, and investigates the effects of social media in the urban movement.

The site centered in this movement is a manufacturing district located in the old city center in Seoul, called the Euljiro manufacturing market district. It comprises a cluster of small order-made-based manufacturing workshops and related commerce concentrated in the area since the 1970s. The area was once driving the growth of the country's manufacturing industry, but since 2006 it was designated as a redevelopment district as the manufacturing industry declined in the country. Despite the limited investment during the period of disinvestment under a redevelopment plan, the economy in the manufacturing district has been maintained alive, serving various industries including art, design, and R&D, with their skills in swift order-made manufacturing. Recent studies have found that the organic network between small-scale, highly-specialized has enabled the market to respond to the demands from different creative industries over time (Sim, 2013; Just Project, 2018).

However, the social and physical fabric in the Euljiro manufacturing district has been threatened since October 2018, when the city government approved to demolish the area and evict the merchants. Despite their efforts to protest the demolition and eviction, many of the merchants have been evicted from their workshops without adequate compensation for their properties.

The "Chengyecheon Euljiro Preservation Association" (PA) is an organization created by young activists and artists who mobilized to stop the redevelopment and preserve the physical and social fabric of the Euljiro manufacturing district. The PA is a flexible network

of activists, artists, and researchers. Unlike the merchants who are under direct personal impact by the redevelopment as tenants and property owners in the area, the members of the PA have less or no personal impact by the redevelopment but advocate for the district's cultural, historical, economic values and fight against the culture of violent development in the country(H. Choi, 2020). While the PA also conducted traditional activism, they use social media as their primary channel to communicate to the public and the city government. Using their social media accounts, the PA has shared information on the site and organized collective actions. Since PA joined the movement, the anti-redevelopment movement started to gather public attention, covered by news media. It led the city government to pause the redevelopment in January 2019, although the government has continued the demolition by far in April 2021.

Although the PA's anti-redevelopment movement focuses on issues deeply situated in a local context, their activism echoes the emerging trends in urban movements around the globe in recent years. Urban movements are "social movements through which citizens attempt to achieve some control over their urban environment' ' (Pruijt, 2004). Urban spaces are always under competing powers that want to transform a space in different directions. While governing authorities and civil society actors strive for negotiation between the different wills and needs, the powers are not equally distributed among the actors and urban transformations often inherit or reinforce the injustice in society. In the US, urban movements have been increasingly adopted by activists and civil society actors since the 1960s, and it began in the 1980s in South Korea during the period of brutal urban reform centered on economic development and nationalism (Mayer, 2009; Shin and Kim, 2016).

Recently, urban movements worldwide have become much more prevalent and diverse, with some newer trends emerging since the 2000s. Urban movements began to have interests in the broader set of human rights and the rights of marginalized populations such as women, workers, and racial minorities (G. Park and Evans, 2018). Also, the focus of movements moves toward public use values of urban spaces, going beyond the traditional agen-

das on individuals' rights as property owners, renters, etc. (Harvey, 2003). These changes have led urban movements to gather attention from a broader audience and take more diverse forms. Researchers found that widespread social media has played an integral role in these new trends as it connects geographically distanced actors; enables them to share their experiences and initiatives in similar agendas.

Regarding the emerging changes, recent studies in urbanism have focused on whether an urban movement led to any social change (Castells, 2004; Han, 2017; Cardona, 2013). On the other hand, studies in activism have accumulated reach literature in the discourse, dynamics, and strategies of social movements equipped with digital media. Yet, they did not address the characteristics of urban movements with place-based agendas. It has remained unclear how diverse actors with different levels of attachment and interest communicate their wills and desires on digital media in an urban movement. Some of the questions not addressed in the existing literature are: how do urban dwellers relate themselves to a place and its transformation?; what stances and desires do they take on the transformation and why?; and how do they communicate with and mobilize other actors, to negotiate their wills with others' wills to ultimately achieve their goals?

This study identified three groups of actors who might have an interest in the Euljiro district: the merchants in the manufacturing district, the activists of the PA, and the general public. The first two groups have taken explicit actions in the movement, while the last is unsure. While the merchants' group has interests directly bound to the redevelopment, it is unclear that the latter two groups do or not. Then I took a mixed-method approach to figure out whether the wills and desires of the merchants and the PA match those of the public found in social media and what strategies they could have to message their agendas better through the media. I conducted interviews with manufacturing workers and some PA activists to understand their relationship to the area and their positions in the movement. Then, I conducted an in-depth analysis of Twitter data to capture the same factors of general citizens on Twitter. The analysis includes LDA topic modeling and a qualitative content

analysis of the text data. The research questions answered by the analyses are as follows:

RQ1. How do the merchants and the PA relate themselves to the place and its redevelopment? What values do they want to preserve in the area?

RQ2. If their answers match with the answers to the same questions from the public, what are they? (e.g., confusion, ambiguity, doubts, or oppositions)

RQ3. What were the purposes and the ways that the PA used social media to propagate their messages?

The study showed that different actors could share an initiative despite having different ways to relate to the place and the redevelopment process. Social media provided an opportunity for the PA to share their agendas and to earn support from the public. Citizens were able to surface and share these personal connections and support on social media. However, there were also confusions and conflicts when it came to deeper discussion on what the movements ultimately wanted to achieve and who could be vocal in the process. The limited capacity of messaging on social media and the difficulties of grasping the local context for the distanced public gave the PA new struggles of media communication. Based on the findings, I discussed the limitation of social media activism and strategies of how localized activism can adjust and overcome the limitations.

These findings add to the literature of urban movement studies and contribute to the newer discussion of how urban movements can improve their strategies and achieve a shared goal better. The discussion in this study can also help governments and planning profession understand their citizens' wills and desires upon urban space and benefit from urban movements equipped with social media to overcome the limitations and criticism on power differences that the profession has had. It adds to how urban societies can work together within the changing media and technology landscape.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Urban movements: history and current trends

Urban movements are 'social movements through which citizens attempt to achieve some control over their urban environment' (Pruijt, 2004), including the built environment, social fabric, and local political process. Urban movements have been one of the forms of civic action adopted in different areas of struggles in urban spaces: the privatization of urban places and services (Becker et al., 2017); a lack of affordable housings and access to public space; gentrification (Beauregard 1986; Smith 1987; Freeman 2009); planning struggles such as displacement and disruption of places beloved (VanHoose and Savini, 2017); and other movements serving the interest of specific interest groups such as landowners (Castells, 1983). In Western countries, including the US and European countries, the practice and concept of urban movements emerged in the 1960s and have evolved interacting with other social changes that affect urban transformation and struggles. The central field of struggle in urban movements in the 60s was the malign consequences of the Fordist urban development, such as top-down urban renewal, which resulted in displacement and disruption of communities (Mayer, 2009). Soon after, in the 70s urban movements began to address the issue of collective consumption, including sufficient provision of public spaces, affordable housings, and other public services in cities, which expanded the scope of the movements into the quality of life in cities in addition to fundamental rights for housing (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974). In the following 80s and 90s, urban movements had increasingly become professionalized and institutionalized as the local governments needed external cooperation with activists in each locale to address the social exclusion and social infrastructure in urban neighborhoods (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Gough and Eisenschitz, 2006). Since the 2000s, urban movements have garnered unprecedented interest from civil society around the world. It is in part because activism becomes more widespread as part of the growing emphasis on civic life. Especially in urban development and governance, democratic par-

ticipation has been a significant agenda in recent decades as many societies put effort to overcome the tradition of top-down development that has marginalized people from urban space (Caprotti et al., 2017). In addition, the growing impact of profit-oriented logic in shaping our cities has increasingly marginalized urban dwellers' needs and wills in cities (Harvey, 2003; Massam, 2002; Marcuse, 2009). Many of the recent urban struggles reported not only from Western cities but from cities around the globe addressed neoliberal urban governance and development that privatized urban space and reinforced inequalities in societies (Han, 2017; Cardona, 2013; Hewitt, 2012). Researchers also found that local places have been a source of a sense of belonging and identity for urban dwellers, while globalization has weakened those senses and created a desire for them (Hamel et al., 2000). This loss of sense of belonging instigated pro-locality movements, which aim to strengthen the identity, culture, autonomy rooted in a place. Overall, activism is growing as one form of bottom-up participatory practices of urban dwellers to impact urban development and governance. With the increased number of cases, the area of struggles in urban movements has been changed. The agendas have further shifted toward the public sphere than individual struggles, such as public spaces, surveillance, and marketing strategies of cities (G. Park and Evans, 2018). Also, there has been a growing interest in the broader set of human rights to the city that goes beyond the conventional property rights: the rights of marginalized/vulnerable communities; political rights over the process of shaping urban spaces; cultural rights to sustain communities' culture and ways of living (H. Choi, 2020). One of the shared senses of urban crises under the current mobilizations was that the market and states are not working efficiently in terms of distributing resources and providing a safety net from marginalization (Carley, 2013). This idea also has been crystallized into the urban commons movement, where urban dwellers who are marginalized from space and means of their livings strive to establish their autonomy on urban space and services (Han, 2017). New media has been crucial to the growth of urban movements and activism, as it brings awareness of social and environmental deterioration that different locales are

experiencing at the same time. Internet and social media have also helped urban dwellers in different locales to exchange experiences and knowledge of activism and citizen actions (Domaradzka, 2018), easing their implementation in various contexts. Regarding this new connectivity, contemporary urban movements tend to expand themselves beyond the boundary of physical space or organizations that the struggle was initially rooted in (Carroll and Hackett, 2006). Given these emerging trends, contemporary urban movements tend to aim for social changes which go beyond the conventional struggle around success or failure of obvious goals (e.g., stopping a particular planning project) (Castells, 2004). Also, a movement often has several components and the central agenda rooted in a place, extending itself to other agendas of social movements such as gender inequality, income inequality, and environmental injustice. It echoes with the concept of 'right to the city' suggested by Harvey (2003) in his paper, where he defined right to the city as 'right to have control over the place they live,' which requires control over means and power to impact urban development and governance. Right to the city aims to expand the rights of urban dwellers beyond private property rights so that not only property owners but every people living in cities have certain rights to have quality space to live. Researchers in urban activism have adopted Harvey's right to the city to guide the analysis of contemporary urban movements (Domaradzka, 2018). These changes provide urban movements with both an opportunity and a risk: they might benefit from getting attention from a broader population and mobilize them to achieve the goal of the movement; yet, they might need to compromise the risk of having conflicts and misunderstanding among the different actors and agendas they bring into the movements.

1.2.2 Urban movements in South Korea

The history of the urban movement in South Korea resembles that in the US and European countries, in the sense of its evolution throughout the last decades: the movements started as a struggle to combat disruptive urban renewal and displacement in the 1960s and

have grown into covering a more comprehensive range of rights of urban dwellers regarding having more control over urban development and governance. Nevertheless, the unique course of urbanization in South Korea provided a different context to the country's urban movement, encapsulated as a struggle against violent developmentalism. The urbanization in South Korea was primarily led by the country and city governments in top-down urban renewal on a large scale. The process would involve forced eviction and demolition, where the governments often hired private guards to force the process. The large-scale displacement in Seoul during the Olympic preparation in the 80s or extensive blight elimination in the same era exemplifies such disruptive practices. The people most frequently victimized in the urban renewals were the lower-income population and people in poverty. The approach of developmentalism has penetrated the country's urban development in the later era, where urban development practices were highly profit-oriented, focusing on housing supply and establishing urban infrastructure. Again, the violence of forced eviction and demolition have repeated until the most recent years, including the 'Yongsan Chamsa' resulted in the deaths of five protesting residents while the police and private guards tried to put down the demonstrators using a crane, water cannon, and firebombs (I. Choi, 2017). Even if there was no physical contestation, the processes often destroyed communities and social fabric in old neighborhoods and replaced them with apartment complexes for higher-income populations. The existing lower-income neighborhoods were framed as 'blighted, uncivilized, barbaric, idle' so that justified the violence (Han, 2017). Shin and Kim (2016) coined this fashion of wielding violence in order to eliminate inefficient elements in the urban development process 'speculative urbanization,' which had provided the basis of the country's current intense speculation in real estate and overheated urban development. There has been a growing sense of problem regarding the abovementioned fashion of urban development in the country. The local governments and civil society actors have taken action to replace violent redevelopment with 'urban regeneration,' aiming to improve the physical environment while preserving the local community. Nevertheless, speculative ur-

banization that remains in the development practices and real estate businesses is still a problem. Having this intense history of violent developmentalism, the urban movements in South Korea emerged as a struggle against the disruptive urban renewal from the 1960s. The major struggles have been the speculative development, replacement of lower-income communities with higher income population, and destruction of the place, community, and the ways of living of the displaced. Then the movements have evolved into three different branches. The first branch is anti-redevelopment movements led by the urban poor, who were the direct victims of forced eviction and demolition in the redevelopments. Their mobilization aims to protect their rights to living. The second branch emerged in the 1990s, and it began to address a broader range of rights to quality living in cities. Primary examples are pedestrian rights movements and community-building movements for local autonomy. Lastly, the third branch is anti-gentrification movements led by tenants, which has grown in the last decade as the country experiences intensified commercialization of urban spaces. Again, it noteworthy that gentrification in South Korea is defined differently from the way it is in Western context: gentrification in the US and European contexts refers to the socio-cultural change that a neighborhood goes through as its population composition shifts toward a more privileged population but not necessarily encompassed displacement. On the contrary, the term gentrification in the Korean context brings more attention to the displacement of existing tenants, not only residents, caused by commercialization and following rent increase. Therefore, the movement practices have focused on the struggle against eviction and displacement concerning the larger agenda of speculative urbanization.

The case studied in this study, the anti-redevelopment movement led by PA, is in line with the long-standing anti-redevelopment movement in that it opposes the state-led development plan involving forced demolition and eviction. However, on the one hand, it is similar to the anti-replication movement analyzed in Han (2017) 's study in that it attempts a cross-regional discussion by asserting the rights of the tenant, the value of urban social net-

works, and other various range of public values that a place and community located in the place can have. Reflective of the earlier trend in urban movements in Western countries and South Korea, these characteristics of the movement can potentially appeal more effectively to create a cross-regional solidarity network based on the public awareness of speculative urbanization and its malign consequences. However, at the same time, its highly localized aspect of protecting the rights and values residing in a particular place and belonged to a particular group of people can be an obstacle for the movement to gather extensive support from the public.

1.2.3 Social media in social movements

New media has been integral to the emergence of contemporary trends in urban movements and how the movements are practiced. While new media is a broad concept that encompasses all types of media conveyed digitally, this study focuses on social media, defined as 'a group of Internet-based applications that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Contents.' (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010) It includes social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter and content communities such as Youtube and Flickr. Using social media, citizens can share information, experiences, and opinions with others and create networks or communities through those activities. Social media also provides features to help people build or join networks and communities of their interests online.

These social media features have provided substantial benefits to participants in social movements to achieve their goals across a wide range of social movements, including political uprisings and social justice movements. Tufekci (2021) conducted a thorough ethnographic study of the civil unrest that happened in Egypt in 2013. The study found that social media's networking capacity and attention-gathering algorithms (Facebook and Twitter) helped the protesters create an extensive network that transcends geographic boundaries. Also, it helped protesters to organize protests and procure resources, which revealed that online social interactions could be manifested in the real world. Similar happened in mass

political uprisings in other countries, such as the 'Yellow Umbrella' movement in 2014 Hong Kong (Chu, 2018), and the Candlelight Protest in 2016 and 2017 South Korea (Lee, 2018). These case studies show that social media enables activists to publicize their agendas to a broader audience and to gather massive attention to their agendas. The attention also helped protesters to procure resources promptly in urgent situations.

Another type of civic media case in social movements was online social movements such as #BlackLivesMatter(Karduni and Sauda, 2020) and #MeToo movement (Manikonda et al., 2018). These movements have raised awareness of structural oppression that disenfranchised communities (People of Color or Women, respectively). The 'hashtag' feature played a significant role in these movements, as the hashtag is an efficient tool to aggregate the same themed contents on social media. In the movements, the contents were lived experiences of individuals who had suffered from structural oppression but did not have enough chance to share and publicize such experiences. These shared experiences, ideas, and symbols helped the protesters to build a collective identity (Gerbaudo, 2014) which further mobilizes the public and earns support.

1.2.4 Social media in urban movements and mobilization

Recent studies show that citizens have actively adopted social media in urban movements, especially when their will is against developing bodies such as local governments or developers. Cardona (2013) reported the case of Puerto Ayora, Ecuador, where the citizens took collective actions to oppose a building construction that was illegally in progress without required permits and environmental study approval. They used Facebook to publicize the issue and to organize a peaceful demonstration. The movement resulted in pausing the construction and requiring the developers to get required permits and approvals. In Sichuan, China, citizens used Weibo, the Chinese equivalent of Twitter, to organize protests and to share information to oppose the construction of a copper plant (Hewitt, 2012). As a result of their actions, the local government withdrew the construction plan. Social media was also

used in activism in European countries where people resisted eviction of a squatting community or destruction of cultural space. In these cases, social media enabled the activists to deliver information and agendas of citizens which would not have been covered by existing media or governmental bodies had done. Also, the technology offered opportunities to transgress the geographic boundary and connect with individuals that would not be reached otherwise (VanHoose and Savini, 2017; Carroll and Hackett, 2006). This extended network helped activists garner external supports and media coverage that they could not source within the active group at the location of struggle. Lastly, activists in urban movements used social media to organize collective actions in physical spaces. However, the localized nature of urban movements required urban movements to use social media more strategically to accomplish the initial goal and to gather external supports at the same time. VanHoose and Savini (2017) found in their case study of urban movements against evicting squatters in Amsterdam that the vast and dispersed external support gathered via social media impacted negatively on the cohesiveness of the movement. Once the public agenda moved to the general rights of squatters in the city, the movement lost its initiative for the initial struggle to protect the specific buildings. They contrasted this case in Amsterdam with another urban movement in London where the protesters strategically used social media to create a more extensive network of supporters using a membership system. While their main agenda was to protect a skateboarding place from development, they made connections to larger agendas to appeal to the public. However, they put efforts to keep the protection of their place and culture at the center of the discourse in their messages. The previous literature has adopted varying frames of analysis to analyze urban movements mediated by social media. In most cases, researchers focused on reporting the case and analyzed the movement with a particular interest of researchers, such as social capital or urban commons. A framework of particular interest to this study is 'analytical activism' suggested by Karpf (2018) as an analytical framework for activism study. Karpf defined 'analytical activism' as "the practice of applying analytics and experimentation to develop new tactics and strategies, identify

emergent mobilization opportunities, and listen to their members and supporters in new ways." It converts digital trace data into strategic objects that help organizations to design and refine their political strategies. The framework includes three key components: the culture of testing, digital listening, and scale. First, analytical activism adopts the culture of testing that uses A/B testing to evaluate different messages and communication strategies. The culture of testing has been used in advocacy communication. Second, digital listening illustrates the approach of analytical activism to data analytics. While existing third-party analytics (provided by the platform companies) focus on analyzing the phenomenon (e.g., emerging mass sentiment regarding a particular agenda), analytical activism focuses on listening to the feedback from existing supporters and the process. It is also customized by the activists, serving their needs to improve their organizational strategies and behaviors. Lastly, scale means that the larger the organization, the more insights you get through the analytics. The anti-redevelopment movement in Euljiro does not fit perfectly the cases of analytical activism that Karpf exemplified in his work. For instance, the organization's size is too small compared to the cases that Karpf exemplified as analytical activism. However, the concept of digital listening can be valuable and applicable to the case in this study for the following reasons. First, the organization does not have official membership but has a potentially large number of external supporters for its initiatives. Second, this study aims to deepen the understanding of the public discourse around the issue and the reactions to the organization's messaging so that the analytical results can help the organization to improve its communication strategies.

1.2.5 How can urban governance accommodate social media and urban movements

Researchers and professionals in urban planning and governance fields have recognized the limitations of traditional citizen participation methods in their practices: the traditional methods such as public hearings, voting, or even participatory design events used to allow limited access to the public and are often under the control of planning authorities.

The same has happened to the languages of communication in participatory practices. These power differences between governing authorities and ordinary people have resulted in marginalizing specific populations from the process of shaping urban spaces, which also led to social injustice in cities. In light of this limited participatory capacity in the profession, the emergence of social media has been deemed as an opportunity to overcome these power differences and to accomplish better communication between planners and citizens. In the last decade, many governments have adopted social media and online communication tools as their official channels of public communication about planning issues (Kleinhans et al., 2015). In addition, there has also been growing research and practical interest in leveraging social media data to understand human behavior and perceptions for data-driven planning (Batty et al., 2012; Jendryke et al., 2017). However, researchers have pointed out that those approaches to social media in the planning profession still inherit the power difference and injustice ingrained in planning practices. Digital communication run by governments and planning bodies often have barriers to specific populations, such as those who do not have digital tools or adequate skills to access those channels (Hargittai, 2008; Eubanks, 2011). Also, communication via such channels is often still under the control of the governments rather than allowing counter or critical discussions around exclude or discriminate particular populations (Hargittai, 2008). Urban activism provides the profession one way to overcome the power difference between planners and citizens. Through the cases of social media-led citizen activism in urban social movements introduced in the earlier section of this study, researchers have found that the urban movement can help the urban planning and governing authorities to investigate and reflect the citizens' will and needs better (de Souza, 2006; Miessen, 2012). This argumentation is not new but linked to the tradition of radical planning and intersectional feminism introduced in the 1980s in the field. Radical planning appeared as a response to rational centralized planning (Friedmann, 1987). Friedmann (1987) argued that planners should analyze situations critically, recognizing power dynamics and injustice involved in the problem. Intersectional feminism

also emphasizes recognizing power differences between groups of people and prioritizes subjective voices to achieve social transformation. Jacobs (2019) provided a critique from Black feminism and radical planning point of view on the disaster planning research that did not acknowledge racism, sexism, and other oppression within the planning process and implementation. In particular, planning can benefit from participation/activism through digital media. Miessen (2012) argued that social media could give planning practice a larger room for critical discussions without being legitimized by the governing bodies to affect the power structures. de Souza (2006) emphasized the capacity of creating local or community knowledge as one of the reasons why planning should embrace citizen activism as part of their practice. The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project and Narratives of Displacement and Resistance provides an excellent example of crowd-sourced data and narratives that planning can benefit from (Maharawal and McElroy, 2018). Also, Flyvbjerg (2012) argued that public discussion and information sharing on social media provides a new opportunity to planning scholarship to impact the public sphere and planning practice. The distance between planning scholarship and practice has been under active debate; Flyvbjerg argued that planning scholarship should embrace the opportunity and engage in communication with the public via digital media. I should note that this study does not argue that social media has only positive potential to democratic participation in urban governance and development processes. Studies have found that social media has been associated with fast commercialization and gentrification in urban neighborhoods (Kim, 2015) or concerns in discriminatory remarks dominating the online discourse regarding urban development and plans Schweitzer, 2014). Admitting these concerns, I focus in this study on the effects of social media in local activism, including both positive and negative ones. The case study of the anti-redevelopment movement in Euljiro contributes to the literature above by documenting a case of civic activism with a traditional place-based agenda of anti-redevelopment and a contemporary approach of urban movements using digital media. Also, the study aims to explore empirically the ways to make urban movement more successful as part of

the participatory practice of contemporary urban governance. In the following section, I illustrated the historical and present dynamics that have formed and are currently changing the social, physical fabric of Euljiro streets. I identified three dynamics currently affecting Euljiro street:the redevelopment plan and the city government's marketing strategy; the activism against the redevelopment; the fast commercialization led by younger generations with their growing fascination with the 'retro' culture. Then I investigated how social media had been involved in each dynamic.

CHAPTER 2
CASE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Case Study

2.1.1 Euljiro Manufacturing District

Euljiro street is located in the old city center of Seoul, the capital of South Korea. Seoul is one of the biggest cities in the world, with about ten million population living within the city boundary and about twenty-four million within the metropolitan area. The city has a highly service-oriented business structure: in 2011, 90% of the businesses located in Seoul were in service industries, and 7% were in manufacturing industries[1]. Manufacturing industries had once dominated the city's economic growth in the 1970s and 80s, but the number of businesses has declined in the last decades. However, the major industries, including clothing, publishing, electronics technology, and metal processing, are still sustaining their businesses, adapting to the city's changed economic and industrial system. The manufacturing district in Euljiro street is one of the most significant clusters of manufacturing businesses in the city, comprising metal processing, electronics, and printings. The cluster is one of the very few urban manufacturing districts while others had been pushed out of the city boundary after the era of compressed growth, and it has been playing a role in supporting the manufacturing and creative industry in and out of Seoul with their unique, organic way of working. However, the area has been designated as an urban renewal promotion district in the city land-use planning since 2006. A renewal promotion district means that the built environment within the district is old and blighted, so that it needs a significant renovation and rearrangement of the built environment. The original plan in 2006 was to demolish the entire existing buildings in the districts and construct high-rise mixed-use buildings with

[1] Seoul Research Data Service, 2021. http://data.si.re.kr/node/288

massive green infrastructure. In 2014, as the city's administration changed, the plan was amended to keep the parcels small and cancel some demolition parts. However, the plan had not been implemented for long because there was no adequate investment or capital invested in the district and the complex ownership structure also hindered the process. Meanwhile, the tenants, mainly manufacturers and merchants running small workshops for casting, printing, and others, had to repair the buildings by themselves. In 2018, the city government finally approved the forceful demolition to implement the redevelopment plan after making some abrupt changes and assessment processes in the same year. The tenants created a coalition to protest against the eviction and demolition, but many of them were evicted from their workshops without being compensated adequately for their properties in the workshops.

Figure 2.1: Euljiro Manufacturing District. Photo by Author.

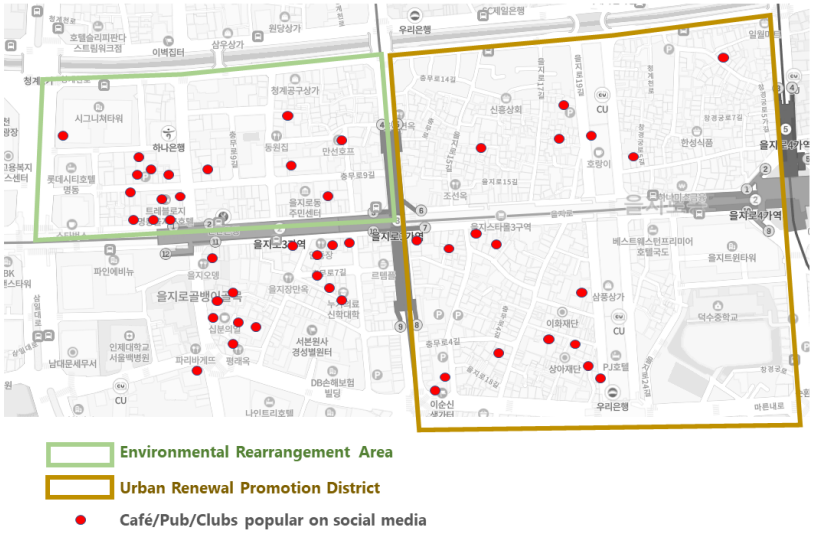

Figure 2.2: The plan and the hot spots on social media. Map by author. Urban renewal and rearrangement layers from Seoul Information Communication Plaza, by Seung-Ju Kim, 2016. The popular places on social media layer from
An Empirical Analysis of Revitalization of Euljiro 34-ga Using the Geotagged Instagram Data by Euntaek Kim et al, 2019, The Seoul Institute.

2.1.2 A new face of Euljiro: The trendiest place on social media

However, for younger generations, Euljiro is not well known for the manufacturing industry. Euljiro has quickly become a popular destination with trendy food and cultural places (e.g., cafes, pubs, clubs, art shops) since the mid-2010s. The buzz started when some small coffee shops and art shops opened near the street and gained popularity through word of mouth on social media (Kang, 2016). In the following year, the number of cafes drastically increased, disseminating toward the west from the redevelopment site, near the subway station. What attracted the businesses to the area include cheap rent and the old, retro-style buildings and atmosphere that would appeal to the young generations (millennials and generation Z) as unique, attractive characteristics (Kim, 2015). One distinctive characteristic about the newly opened businesses is that they tend not to have signages on the façades. Thus, visitors cannot easily find the location without online maps and photos shared on social media, reflecting the involvement of social media in the new commercial experiences in Euljiro. Indeed, booming on social media resulted in the rent increase, and change of

commercial landscape has been a repetitive pattern in South Korea. The younger generation in South Korea is very savvy in online communication, and online information and culture take a large part in their cultural lives. Social media content has been allegedly attributed to generating a considerable amount of trips and consumptions in cities, as well as driving abrupt and temporary buzz in a particular place that does not last long (T. Park et al., 2016). However, the result lasts a lot longer than the media hype. In many earlier places where the media attention was drawn to, the new businesses once thrive, having difficulties in keeping their businesses as the attention moves to another place (T. Park et al., 2016; Hwang, 2015). Thus, Euljiro has been the center of attention for the last few years, and people have been concerned that the current social media hype will result in gentrification and a commercialized landscape where only big franchise companies survive.

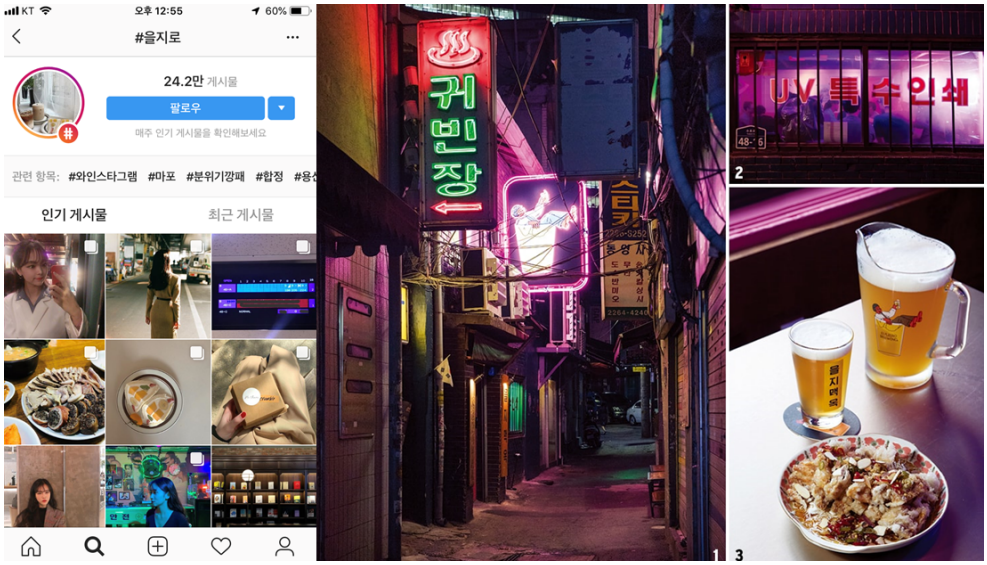

Figure 2.3: The images of 'Hipster' Euljiro on social media and online news. Captured by author, 2018 (left), Photo by Cha Hye Kyung from ALLURE website, 2018 (right)

2.1.3 The Preservation Association: A non-tenant activist in Euljiro

'Cheongyecheon-Euljiro Preservation Association (PA)' appeared on social media in January 2019, three months after the city government approved the demolition of the part of the manufacturing district. There are diverse people in the PA: activists, artists, researchers,

and many of them are clients of the manufacturers. Even though they are not the direct subject of the redevelopment plan, they advocate for preserving the organic network of the manufacturing industry in Euljiro. The PA came up with the term 'industry ecosystem' as a holistic concept that encompasses the components, including the physical and social fabric, their culture of working, which make the manufacturing district play a unique role in the city's industry and culture. The first meeting of the members, which led to the organization of PA later, was organized via Facebook, and later they used Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter to publicize their activities and agendas. Some of the main contents they shared on social media are interview series with the manufacturers, real-time reports of protests, and communication with local governments. Soon after they started posting on social media, they started a petition campaign using a google form shared on their social media account, and a significant number of participants signed to call the city government to stop the redevelopment. Also, they used social media to organize and encourage participation in their offline events. The online poster rally was one of such activities, where they asked people to volunteer to make a poster for the offline rally and demonstration. However, social media was not the only media they used to publicize activity. They did interviews with other media channels like TV and radio and writing for several magazines. After the petition submitted to the city government, the Seoul city government announced to pause the entire redevelopment and demolition and reexamine the plan to be more respectful of the heritage and community within the manufacturing district.However, the demolition kept going on even after the announcement. While the demolition was underway, a large number of cultural assets were unearthed in the area. The tenants and the PA members have called the government to stop the demolition and open the excavation process to the public but their request has been refuse. In April 2021, the demolition is still going on and the tenants and the activist are protesting the demolition.

2.1.4 Frame of analysis

Given the context analysis in the previous section, I identified three groups of actors in the anti-redevelopment movement: the merchants (tenants), the Preservation Association; 3) the public. In this study, I studied the social media users as a sampled population of the general public. The merchants are under the most direct personal impacts by the redevelopment project, such as losing their properties and deprivation of means of working. The public is assumed to have only indirect or no personal impacts by the redevelopment. The PA is a subset of the public but distinguished by their affiliation to the organization and shared initiatives. The research questions asked are threefold: first, I explored how the merchants and the PA relate themselves to the place and its redevelopment and what values to preserve they find from the place. Next, I investigated the purpose and the ways that the PA used social media to propagate their messages. I analyzed the findings focusing on what successes and struggles they had via the social media activities. Lastly, I investigated if their answers matched the answers to the same questions from the public and identified any mismatch between the answers, including confusion, ambiguity, doubts, or oppositions. In answering this second question, I applied the concept of digital listening from analytical activism(Karpf, 2018) so that the results can provide insights into how to improve the merchants' and the PA's strategy to achieve their goals in their movement. The study's findings were put together in the discussion section under the three discussion questions: 1) how can a place-based urban movement mobilize the public?; 2) what were the benefits/pitfalls of using social media in an urban movement?; 3) how can the movement be more successful in mobilizing the public and achieving the goals of the merchants and the PA? Figure 2.4 visualizes the analytical framework of this study, including the three actor groups, the research questions, and the methods of analysis.

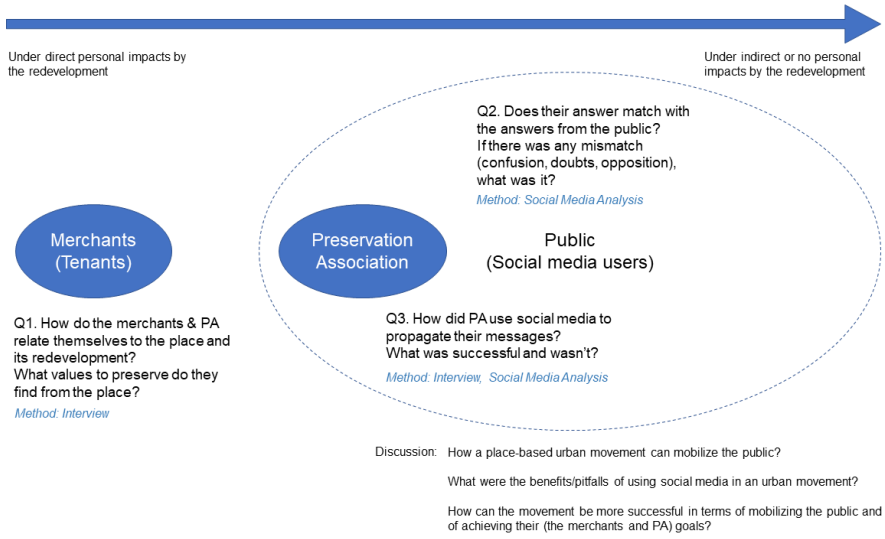

Figure 2.4: Analytical framework of the study.

2.2 Method

I used a mixed-method approach in this study, combining interviews and social media content analysis.

2.2.1 Interview

I conducted five interviews with two merchants and three PA activists. Personal information of the interviewees is provided in Table 2.1. The two merchants were active members of the merchant coalition. Both of them spent more than thirty years working in the district, so they were estimated to be in their fifties or sixties. The PA activists were relatively younger than the merchants, estimated to be in their twenties or thirties. The three PA activists identified themselves as either a researcher or an activist in a field relevant to the manufacturing district and its redevelopment. It should be noted that the three activists were not representative of the characteristics of the whole members of the PA. The interviews were unstructured with the merchants, semi-structured with the PA activists. The interviews happened on three different dates, and the format was either an in-person interview or a video call. Questions asked were not consistent throughout the interviews but covered the

following questions in general: general information about their relationship to the place and their motivation of participation; what rationales they had to stop the redevelopment and to preserve the place; what strategies they had to mobilize the public and what roles social media play in the strategies.

Table 2.1: List of interviewees.

Code	Role in the movement	Interest in the site	Data	Place
Merchant A	Merchant Coalition Chair	Owned a workshop located near the redevelopment site	Jun 10 2019	Meeting in the protest tent
Merchant B	Merchant Coalition member	Owned a workshop located in the redevelopment site, under the active pressure of demolition and eviction	Jun 10 2019	Meeting in the merchant's workshop
Activist C	PA activist (Member of a collective of artists, researchers, activists in urban conflicts)	Had an office space located adjacent to the redevelopment site	May 29 2019	Meeting in the PA's office
Activist D	PA activist (Activist in a cultural organization. Researcher in makers' culture in the Seun complex)	Had an office space located adjacent to the redevelopment site. Conducted a research with merchants and manufacturers in the Seun complex.)	May 13 2021	Video call
Activist E	PA activist (Researcher in urban social fabric in the manufacturing district. Architecture archivist.)	Participated in a research about dddd redevelopment site.)	May 13 2021	Video call

2.2.2 Social media content analysis

Twitter Data Collection

I collected all tweets containing the word 'Euljiro' ('을지로' in the original Korean text) posted between April 2018 and July 2019. It was April 2018 when Euljiro appeared in media articles as a 'rising hipster place.' The PA opened its social media account in January

2019, and the city government announced to pause the entire redevelopment in the same month. Most of the existing literature in urban analytics has only used geotagged tweets. However, the number of tweets geotagged is significantly low compared to the number of total tweets, and the method misses out tweets that were not posted within the area but still documented opinions and experiences about the area. Thus, collecting tweets by a keyword suits better the aim of this study. Data were collected in July 2019 at first, then recollected in August 2020 to get other missed attributes in the first collection. We then created a subset of the tweets that contain one of the six keywords related to the redevelopment of the manufacturing district: 'redevelopment,' 'demolition,' 'preservation,' 'merchant.' This subset constituted 8% of the total tweets and 18% of the tweets posted in January and February 2019.

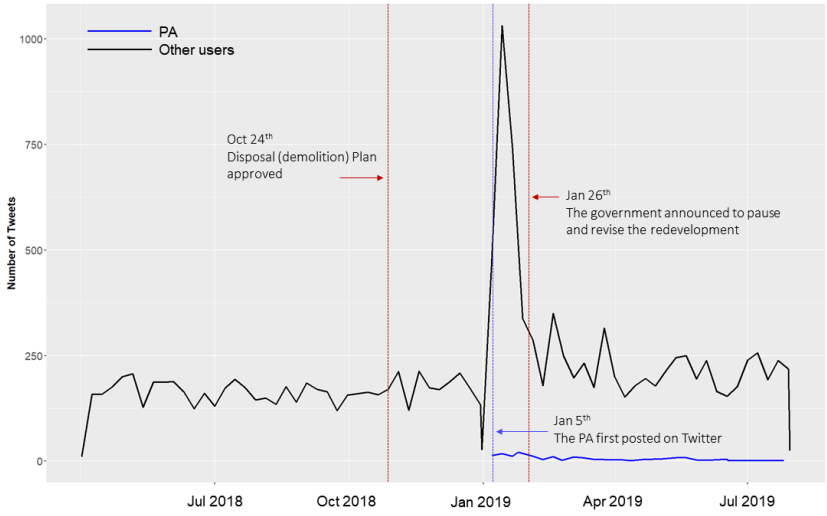

Figure 2.5: Change in the number of tweets that mentioned 'Euljiro'. The number raised sharply once the PA started posting on Twitter.

Topic Model Analysis

I conducted topic modeling for the text data to identify common themes and topics of the tweets mentioned 'Euljiro.' Topic modeling is a type of statistical modeling for natural language processing to identify topics in a set of documents. It allows researchers to construct

the topics bottom-up, which can be helpful when researchers do not have a clear idea about what to expect from the data. Among various algorithms introduced for topic modeling, I used a Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA), commonly used for social media data analysis (Gao et al., 2017; Brandt et al., 2017). I used a package named 'konlpy' for natural language processing of Korean texts and 'tomotopy' for LDA topic modeling. The model returned a designated number of topics (10 in this study) which consists of a set of words that most frequently appeared together. Also, each tweet was given a list of scores that indicate the relevance of the tweet to each topic. For analysis, I labeled each tweet with a topic with the highest relevance, only when the highest score exceeded 0.5. Then, I analyzed the longitudinal change of the number of tweets with different topics before and after the activity of the PA.

Qualitative Content Analysis & Coding

Next, I conducted a qualitative analysis of the tweets in the Redevelopment set to explore how users related themselves to the redevelopment projects and their reasons for taking a particular stance toward the project. Media researchers have conducted qualitative coding of tweets in similar methods with this study to study the production of narratives or to do discourse analysis on Twitter(Starbird, 2017). I set four dimensions of coding in the coding frame: Topic, Stance, Value. The codes in each dimension were both concept-driven (defined in advance) and data-driven (defined from data during coding)(Schreier, 2012). I am a native Korean with Korean as my first language, so I was able to conduct the qualitative coding of the tweets written in Korean. The coding was iterated several times to keep the coding frame consistent throughout the data. The description of the coding frame follows below:

Dimension 1: Topic

- Media sharing: tweets contained links to media contents (videos, news articles, blog

posts, etc.).

- Participation: users shared their experience of participating in collective actions or encourage others to participate in.
- Information sharing: users shared information about the context and situations or reported what was happening on the site.
- Opinions & Stories: users revealed their opinions about the redevelopment (or the movement) or shared their personal stories regarding the site and the redevelopment.
- Calls for governmental response: users mentioned the city's and the city mayor's Twitter account and urged them to answer their calls and questions.
- Visiting: users talked about their experiences visiting Euljiro.
- Others

Dimension 2: Stance

- Agreed with the redevelopment
- Disagreed with the redevelopment
- Qualified/Doubted

Dimension 3: Value

- Historical/Cultural values
- Value of the industry ecosystem
- Shared memories and ways of living in old communities
- Unique aesthetic of the landscape

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

3.1 Merchants and the PA: why they want to stop the redevelopment

3.1.1 Merchants: right to the city and the public value of the industry ecosystem

Merchants' arguments against redevelopment were twofold: 1) their rights to the city and 2) the public value of their work contributing to the country's economic and industrial growth. Three merchants all argued that the redevelopment would irreversibly deprive them of means of making their lives. It was because the redevelopment damaged their workshops and other properties in the first place, but also because they would not be able to sustain their work somewhere else without the industry ecosystem they had cultivated in the area. All three merchants argued that the survival of their businesses was bound to the physical and social characteristics that they had developed in the Euljiro area. The characteristics include good accessibility to their customers (design, art, other manufacturing industries, and research & development institutes); agglomeration of small workshops that attract customers; and their network that enables flexible order-made manufacturing. Merchant A said, "there is no place to go other than here for us. Many businesses who moved to other places had already failed." Thus, the merchants thought the redevelopment was violating their rights to the city: forced relocation of their businesses would be total deprivation of their means of living and threats their rights to live in the city. Merchant A said, "the government should protect the right of their people to make their living, right?... We worked hard and contributed a lot to the economic growth of this country, but there is no respect to our labor from the government." Two of the merchants also argued that their skills and works had contributed to the country's economic growth and industrial innovations so that they were worth being appreciated as public assets. All three merchants repeatedly talked

about their outstanding work in the past and present with large technology corporations, research labs in universities, start-ups, emphasizing that they have played a significant role in the innovations in the whole technology industry in the country. Also, merchant A and B believed that the manufacturing industry in Euljiro would keep playing a significant role in supporting diverse industrial sectors in the future once it could be sustained. For them, the redevelopment was an act of disrespect and ignorance from the governments on their contribution to the country's current and future economic, cultural, industrial innovations. In this light, they wished younger generations to have more interest in their situation and join their movement to stop the redevelopment.

3.1.2 Preservation Association: Industry ecosystem with its use value, historical value, and initiatives for a social change in the culture of developmentalism

The interviews with the PA activists provided three values to preserve that they found from the manufacturing district:

- The use-value of the area for other industries
- The value as a cultural, historical heritage
- The value as a place of shared memories, lives, and communities

Regarding the use-value, Activist A said, "Cheonggyecheon-Euljiro is an important space for people like us and people who do creative works. Designers, makers, art people, and then printing, visual communication design... Here is where all these works had to go through." Activist A also called the people who visit the manufacturing-related businesses' users' and rationalized that the users also had interests and willingness to participate in the movement to stop the redevelopment. What gives the area's value included the merchants' social network and their working methods that made the area a unique destination for such users. Also, the activists valued the urban form and buildings in the area as historical, cultural heritages, mentioning the "unique physical landscape including the urban forms

and the street networks" (Merchant B). Lastly, the activists valued the area as a place of shared memories, lives, and communities. Activist B, who used to participate in activism to sustain cultural spaces under governmental pressures, said that he decided to participate in the movement because he was interested in protecting spaces of shared memories from destructive forces such as the manufacturing district Euljiro. Although the activists did not have firsthand experience of using the services provided by the merchants in the area, they had other personal links to the area which led them to be convinced by the values of the area to preserve and to participate in the movement. Activist A was a member of an artist group that explored the politics and power dynamics in urban spaces via different forms of arts and collective actions and whose office space was located near the redevelopment area. Activist B was conducting research with the manufacturing workers in the Seun complex right next to the redevelopment area. Activist C was an archivist of modern architecture in Seoul and investigated the manufacturing workshops and their working network with other researchers. Yet, the specific values that the area has were not the only reason why they decided to fight against the redevelopment. All the activists showed either regrets or resentment toward the culture of developmentalism and the repeated history of violent redevelopment of the country, which had marginalized people from city space and erased history, memories, and communities from the space: (quotes) All the activists wished their activism to drive social changes in the way the countries' governments, planning bodies, and the society treat places in cities. Activist B said that the group put more emphasis on the preservation of history, diversity, and industry ecosystems in the city than the issues of property rights or residents' rights such as compensation and migration.

3.1.3 Merchants and the PA: connections to other forces interfering the Euljiro

Among the three interfering forces, the merchants felt most resentful about the government's marketing of the Euljiro area as an old food alley. Merchants A and B, who were asked the question, admitted that their businesses were in a symbiotic relationship with the

old restaurants. Nevertheless, they felt resentful at the efforts that transformed the district into something other than a place for 'producing goods', including the aggressive business expansion of some old restaurants under the government's policy in favor of the restaurants. They felt 'ignored' or 'disrespected' by the government and the owners of the old restaurants. However, merchants A and B showed conflicting opinions on whether the growing attention to Euljiro as a food destination could benefit their movement to stop the redevelopment or not. Merchant A argued that the restaurants had gathered significant attention to the area from the public, while Merchant B deemed such attention to be adverse to preserve the manufacturing district:

> People do not know about my shop, but they all know about the Eulji-myun oak and Manseon Hof (the old food places). (Merchant A)
>
> The area is not for selling fried chicken or coffee but where we make our living by producing goods. (Merchant B)

The merchants paid relatively more minor attention to the rise of retro culture in Euljiro and related younger businesses near their working areas. Merchant B talked about the old restaurants again when he was asked about the younger trend. Merchant A also talked about the old restaurants first but later acknowledged that the young businesses were also part of Euljiro and sympathized with them, calling them 'the scapegoats of gentrification' who ended up entering the Euljiro area to find places with lower rent prices. However, he deemed the new cafes and pubs coming to the area as a course of the dissolution of the manufacturing ecosystem, converting the identity of Euljiro from a place for production to a place for consumption:

> Cafes are not suitable for the ecology here, so they are unfavorable, but they also chose their own way of survival, so I cannot argue that... The funny thing is that one of those people comes in, then soon, one of us is kicked out... Looking at that, I think, ah, the market is gradually falling apart. (Merchant A)

The PA members, who were in younger generations than the merchants, were well aware of the retro culture and pertaining commercialization in the area. They had contradicting opinions on whether the commercialization per se and Euljiro being called 'Hipjiro' would benefit their movement or not. Activist A expected that many of the people who visit the area to enjoy and consume the retro culture would also be the users of the businesses so that they would be interested in and agree with the value of the area as well. Activist B was negative about such commercialization and framing led by the mainstream media at first. However, he changed later because "the retro culture commercialization and the manufacturing industry ecosystem could exist together given that the retro culture was based on the creative activities related to the manufacturing districts and the unique physical landscape created by the industry ecosystem." On the contrary, Activist C thought that such coexistence would be difficult if the existing economic logic kept governing the area, so government policies and systems should put some regulation to make coexistence possible. The activists were unanimous that they were against the 'urban regeneration' marketed by the city government with 'the Maker's city' rhetoric. They thought that the rhetoric of 'Maker's city' and the regeneration project selectively cut out a part of the industry ecosystem in favor of the city's marketing strategy. They also argued that the city left behind the whole manufacturing district that should be considered as an essential part of the organic industry ecosystem located in the area. They also criticized the 'old food alley' marketing strategy of the government, arguing that the marketing strategy was to diminish the size of the issues and divert the public attention from the manufacturing districts so that the redevelopment of the manufacturing district could keep going.

3.2 How the PA used social media to propagate their message

3.2.1 Attractions to using social media

Social media was part of the preservation association's media activity to publicize their agendas. There was no particular event that motivated the group to use social media for their

activism, but it happened naturally for some reasons. Activist B provided a thorough answer to this question as one of the social media managers of the PA, and Activist C affirmed the answers from Activist B. First, social media was already a familiar form of information sharing, agenda propagation, and event promotion to the PA members. Activist B said that the PA works with the resources and skills that each member brings to the group, and social media utilizing capacity was one of them. He said the group was initially organized by an activist who already experienced social media in another place-based movement. Other members who were artists, designers, project managers were also familiar with using social media to promote their work. In addition, the artists "tended to have interest in social movements and have networks of sharing such information in different agendas" (Activist B). Secondly, social media was a good fit for them because they communicated with each other primarily online. Since the members were not participating full-time, most of their discussions and event planning happened through online messenger services, including Telegram and Kakaotalk.[1] Thus, the contents of their discussions were inherently digital text which could be easily copied from and populated on different social media. Lastly, they needed a media channel to publicize what they witnessed and collected on the site, and social media was apt for these purposes because the information and messages they wanted to promote were not something that the mainstream media were interested in covering. Activist B called the two other rhetoric imposed on the area, 'Hipjiro' and 'the Makers' city regeneration,' as 'mainstream discourses' in contrast to the discourse centered at the industry ecosystem located in the redevelopment district and argued that the mainstream discourses had been highlighted on conventional mass media while the discourse around the industry ecosystem had marginalized by the media outlets.

[1] 'Kakaotalk' is a mobile messaging app, most popular in South Korea.

3.2.2 Initial Success: participation, attention gathering, tangible political outcomes

The preservation association made use of social media for four different activities: 1) providing the information about what happens on the site; 2) publicizing the agenda regarding anti-redevelopment and the preservation of the industry ecosystem in the area; 3) organizing collective actions both online and offline or promoting the events they held; 4) pressing the governmental bodies through their social media account. All three activists found the first petition campaign was their most significant accomplishment earned via social media and the reason was that they were able to drive the city government to stop the redevelopment through the petition. They were able to have more than 20,000 people sign up for the petition in two weeks, and after the petition was submitted, the city government announced to pause the redevelopment in January entirely. The other accomplishments from social media that the activists mentioned were active participation in other collective actions or events they organized. Activists B and C talked about their poster rally on social media, which collected numerous posters submitted online with messages advocating the preservation of the Euljiro and asking to stop the redevelopment. Some minor accomplishment was that the mainstream news media used PA's contents uploaded on social media, which implied that the information shared on social media was propagated beyond their platforms and reached a broader audience. However, they did not talk about how successful publicizing their agendas on social media was or how important it was when I asked about the effects of using social media in their movement. Regarding the internal effect of using social media, the PA's capability of attention gathering played a significant role in enabling the close relationship and collaboration between the merchants and the PA. Merchants and activists both said that the merchants were not familiar with using social media compared to the PA activists who were younger and more adept at using social media. It implied that the collaboration with PA had brought the capability of leveraging communication technology like social media to the movement. Merchants appreciated the PA members' media utilizing ability along with their knowledge in legal affairs:

> The city's decision to pause the project was thanks to the activists because we could get public attention and featured in major media once they started to advocate and publicize our situation. Before that, they (news, media channels) had never paid attention to us. (Merchant A)

The activists were also aware that media activity was what they could do better than the merchants so they took this role in the movement. This natural division of labor helped both the merchants and the activists to build up robust collaborative relationships.

3.2.3 Later struggles: losing public attention, misperception and lost complexity, losing to the 'mainstream' frames

However, they also went through struggles to propagate their agendas on social media. The activists did not have any specific strategy for using social media when they first began to populate content on social media. At first, their contents tended to focus on sheer information sharing and reporting their activity. However, they soon encountered limitations in doing so as they witnessed their messaging being not successfully: "People often thought the demolition was completely stopped after the mayor announced to pause the demolition and to revise the redevelopment plan, in reality, the demolition was still going on" (Activist C). Also, the efforts of the governments and other news media to shift the agenda from the preservation of the manufacturing district to something else were challenges that PA faced in their media activities. Activist A said that the mainstream media began to frame the whole redevelopment issue as preserving old restaurants as cultural assets, taking attention away from the manufacturing workshops and the merchants. One of the PA's problems in terms of propagating their agendas was that "the situations in the redevelopment and the destruction of the industry ecosystem were highly complex to be grasped by people who have not visited the site or directly involved in the industry ecosystem." (Activist B) Having realized these challenges in messaging their agendas, PA activists started to refine their social media strategy in several ways to gather the public attention back to their agen-

das by 1) adopting different content formats such as 'card news'[2] to explain the complex situation regarding the redevelopment more effectively, or 2) making the contents more outstanding at first glance with intriguing first sentences and emojis. In addition, some of the activists tried to relate the other agendas explicitly (e.g., the retro culture, the 'Maker's city') to the industry ecosystem so that they could benefit from the attention gathered to the frames as well as point out the essential links between the agendas and the manufacturing districts that have been overlooked. Activists B said that they "felt the need to inform this relationship (other agendas and the industry ecosystem) and to appropriate the agendas."

Figure 3.1: Euljiro manufacturing district with the anti-redevelopment movement banner. Photo by Author.

[2] a news format that gives a news story with text and images as a slideshow. Various organizations in South Korea, including traditional news channels, have adopted this format actively in recent years, targeting social media users.

3.3 The shape of public discourse on social media

3.3.1 Representation of Euljiro on social media

The topic modeling results showed that people associated Euljiro with various everyday activities until January 2019, when PA started posting on Twitter. 'Food' was the most prominent topic of tweets that mentioned Euljiro by January 2019, and tweets with the 'food' topic often contained a review/expectation/recommendation on food outlets (e.g., cafes, pubs, restaurants) located in the Euljiro area:

> @ekiria: Euljiro Sansu-Gapsan Assorted soup and Soondae were said to be delicious, but I haven't been there... Isn't the steamed port from Yoojin Restaurant okay? (을지로 산수갑산 모듬수육/순대 맛있다고 하던데 거긴 안가봤고.. 유진식당 수육 괜찮지 않음?)
> @stussygo: The back alley of Euljiro, where you can find the trendy newtro vibe between the old stuffs. 'Coffee Mill & Hyemindang' (Exploring Euljiro Hip Place) #Coffee Hanyakbang #Euljiro http://ow.ly/sbSg30ncmE0 (을지로 뒷골목, 낡은 것과 오래된 것에서 세련된 뉴트로 감성을 경험할 수 있는 곳 '커피 방앗간&혜민당' (을지로 힙플레이스 탐방) #커피한약방 #을지로 http://ow.ly/sbSg30ncmE0)

However, from the second week of January, which was right after PA started to post on Twitter, the number of tweets with 'Redevelopment/Manufacturing' topics sharply increased. Tweets with the topic of 'Redevelopment/Manufacturing' were either opinion about the manufacturing district and its redevelopment or personal experiences or anecdotes regarding the manufacturing district and the industry ecosystem. The fact that the news media were not yet creating their own contents about the manufacturing district but featuring the interviews with PA members support that this drastic increase of Euljiro's presence as a manufacturing district on social media was driven not by other media outlets but by the PA's social media activities.

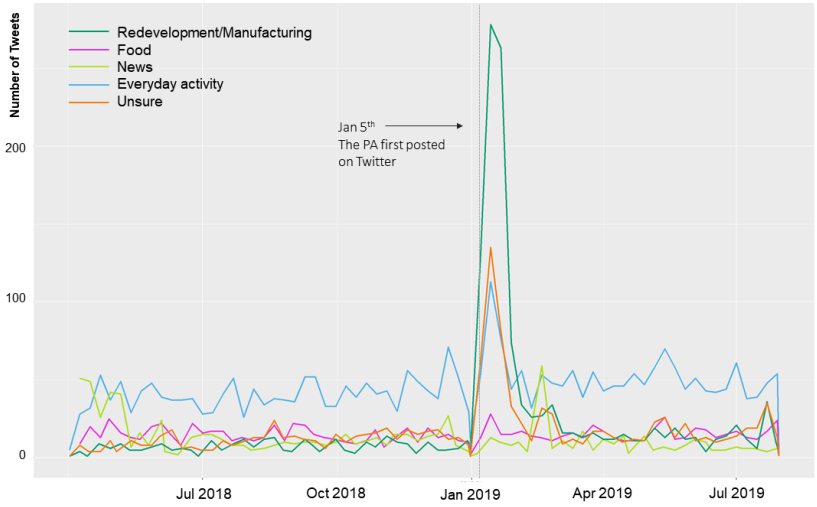

Figure 3.2: Change in the number of tweets by topic. Most of the tweets generated in January were about the redevelopment and the manufacturing industries. Before the surge, food places were a more frequent topic among the tweets mentioning Eulji-ro.

Table 3.1: Topics resulted from the topic modeling.

Topic	**Keywords**	**Description**	**Theme**	**# of Tweets**
1	Go, Today, Time, See, Eat, People, Take a photo, Tomorrow, Come, Now, Receive, Friend, Today	Sharing first-hand visiting activities to Euljiro, mostly as a temporary visitor. (not resident or regular user)	Everyday activity	3808
2	People, See, Think, But, Now, Unaware, Seoul, Aware, Building, There	Something that the city is unaware of about the area, or confusion that the user themselves experiencing	Unsure	2834
3	Eulji-ro 3-ga, Eulji-ro Ipgu, Go, Take on, Subway, Bus, Jongro, Now	Trip activities near Euljiro (subwaystations name), sharing the activities in real-time manner with other users	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing District	1309

Table 3.1 (continued)

Topic	Keywords	Description	Theme	# of Tweets
4	Development, Chengyecheon, Park Won-Soon, Demolition, City, Market, Regeneration, Local, Street, Redevelopment, Preservation, Bulldoze	Opinions/Thoughts about the redevelopment and the demolition happening in the area. (Negativity captured)	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing District	1309
5	Eat, Tasty, 'Mat-zip' (popular food place), 'Golbange' (Name of food), Beer, Ally, 'Nang-myeon' (Name of food), Food place, 'Hof'(pub), 'Man-seon'	Visiting/introducing old-fashioned food places that Euljiro is well known for previously	Food	1305
6	Ally, Photo, Market, Shop, Light, Create, Print, Artwork, Material, Cheonggyecheon, 'Bangsan', Manufacturing	Visiting the merchandise/manufacturing streets in Euljiro to get materials for artwork, to order made, to buy lighting stuffs	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing District	926

Table 3.1 (continued)

Topic	Keywords	Description	Theme	# of Tweets
7	Café, Coffee, 'Gamsung'(Sentimental), Tasty, 'Bunwigi'(Mood), 'Horangi'(café), TV show title, Space, Drink	Introducing/visiting trendy cafes known for trendy, unique moods.	Food	687
8	Seoul, Jung-gu, Afternoon, Location, Advertise	Advertisement of events/exhibitions held in Euljiro	News	667
9	Source, Portal site name, Blog, News, 'Mat-zip'	Sharing links to online news regarding food places, Work-Live condo, and other events in Euljiro	News	000
10	International Hand-made Fair, Jung-gu	Advertising an event held in Euljiro	News	211

The contents of the most highly retweeted tweets also proved the increased attention gathered to the anti-redevelopment movement and the manufacturing district in Euljiro. (Table 4) The most highly retweeted tweet was the tweet of PA that contains the link to the petition page. Another tweet of PA included in the highly retweeted tweets list was the image of the protesters' vest made in the manufacturing district.

Eight of ten most highly retweeted tweets were about the manufacturing districts with an anti-redevelopment stance. One of them contained a link to a video explaining the re-development plan and how ignorant the plan has been about the people and the industry located in the area. Three of them shared the users' experiences of using the services in the manufacturing district as people in art/design fields of using directed at the tool store in

Euljiro and how vital the area is for their individual works and the entire industry.

Table 3.2: Most highly retweeted tweets in January.

Tweet	**Theme**	**# of retweets**	**Date**
@ ohezin: Sign up the petition to stop the Chengyecheon-Euljiro Redevelopmenthttps:(the link to a google document) 청계천 을지로 재개발 반대서명 (재개발 반대서명 페이지 링크)	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing	4518	2019-01-02
@ saza_runs_seoul: I got a call from my younger sibling talking about a dog that seemed to be abandoned in Euljiro, but a man reading a book at McDonalds came out and told my sibling not to care the dog because it was his dog. My sibling told him that abandoning the dog outside the building like that is illegal and then he came out of the place. The dog really liked him. pic.twitter.com/t6ZTVJb43f 동생이 을지로에서 유기견인거 같다고 연락이 왔는데 맥도날드에서 책읽던 남자가 나와서 자기개라고 신경쓰지 말라고했다고.. 저렇게 방치하는거 불법이니 신고하겠다고 하니까 그제야 나왔는데 개가 엄청 좋아했다고ㅠㅠ pic.twitter.com/t6ZTVJb43f	Unsure	3690	2019-01-10
@ ohezin: Finding the hidden cat in Euljiro pic.twitter.com/Ney0LKUCpe 을지로 숨은고양이 찾기 pic.twitter.com/Ney0LKUCpe	Unsure	3684	2019-01-28

Table 3.2 (continued)

Tweet	**Theme**	**# of retweets**	**Date**
It was so hard to comprehend what happens in the Euljiro-Cheonggyecheon Regeneration (?) Project because it happened too fast. I share this video created by director Ma Min-ji which explains the issue well. pic.twitter.com/JlxlsvUXmd 을지로-청계천 재생(?)사업 너무 순식간에 일어나서 뭐가 뭔지 잘 파악이 안됐었는데 마민지 감독님이 정리해주신 동영상이있어 공유합니다. pic.twitter.com/JlxlsvUXmd	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing	3627	2019-01-06
@ krrrhooky: I did not graduate from art college or have anything related to design, but it was thanks to the merchants in Euljiro that I was able to maintain my work until now. Euljiro is a very important place not only for art/design students but also for people like me who want to start off without any background. Whenever I brought some sketches of what I wanted to make, the merchants helped me to figure out how to do it. That was such a big support. . . .pic.twitter.com/AFbuWIIIHp 미대를 나온것도 아니고 디자인 관련 뭣도 없었지만 지금까지 작업을 유지할수 있었던건 을지로사장님들 힘이 컸다 예술계 학생외에도..나같이 막연하게 시작하는 사람들에게도 을지로는 너무중요한 곳이다 일케절케 그려서 만들고싶다고 여쭈면 이건된다 저건안된다 해주셨음 그게 얼마나 큰건데... pic.twitter.com/AFbuWIIIHp	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing	3573	2019-01-09

Table 3.2 (continued)

Tweet	**Theme**	**# of retweets**	**Date**
@ NKOBofficial: @: Park Won-Soon. Why are you demolishing Euljiro? I heard you are getting rid of the braille blocks because they are ugly.. Do you think you will survive if we erase everything looking ugly from Seoul? @: 박원순 을지로 왜 미는 거임? 못생겼다고 점자블록도 민다도만 저기요 서울에서 못생긴 거 다 민다고 치면 님이 살아남을 것 같은가요	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing	3472	2019-01-07
@sincerely_ssn: Euljiro is a place that I, my friends, professors, and artists call the 'treasure house.' It is a space that encompasses everything from design to paintings to fine art, and to crafts, but if you look at the ignorant demolition of the area for the sake of building a few more office buildings, you can see how poorly the country recognizes or appreciates art. 을지로는 나와 내 친구들, 교수님들 그리고 작가들까지 소위 보물창고라고 일컫는 곳이다. 디자인부터 순수미술과 같은 회화, 공예까지 모든 걸 아우르는 공간인데 고작 오피스텔 몇 채 더 짓자고 무식하게 밀어붙이는 꼴을 보면 이 나라가 얼마나 예술에 대한 인식이 낮고 무감한지 알 수 있다	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing	3267	2019-01-08
@ cheongyecheon: Eulrjio produces vests for the protesters!!! pic.twitter.com/NUPs... 투쟁조끼도 직접 만드는 을지로!!!! pic.twitter.com/NUPs...	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing	3141	2019-01-11

Table 3.2 (continued)

Tweet	**Theme**	**# of retweets**	**Date**
@ listentothecity: I lost my love in humanity seeing those who are dragging women to a karaoke saying the women are like their daughters. How many more women must be sacrificed to change society?! Thanks to the business owner who came out to help we were able to stop further disaster. The owner used to feed the cats in Euljiro too. I hope she can run her business for long. 딸같아서 노래방 끌고가는 놈들을 서울 한복판에서 보니 인류애가 사라짐. 얼마나 더 많은 여성이 희생되야 사회가 바뀔까?! 바쁜데도 나와서 지켜봐주신 사장님덕에 추가피해막음.사장님은 평소에도 숫자가 많은 을지로고양이들 밥챙겨주시는 분임 ㅠ오래오래장사하자	Unsure	2930	2019-04-03
@ weso_art: I still can't believe that the Euljiro alley is disappearing... If you want to make things like lights or other stuff but you have no idea where to start with, you can find your way to do that by bringing your sketches to the Euljiro. 을지로 골목이 없어진단 말이 아직도 실감이 안 나네요... 조명이든 도대체 무엇에 쓰는 물건인지 모를 것이든 무엇이든 만들고 싶은데, 어디서부터 시작해야하는지 도저히 감이 잡히지 않으면 일단 스케치를 들고 을지로로 가면 답이 다 나오지요	Redevelopment/ Manufacturing	2714	2019-01-06

3.3.2 Pro-preservation: unique value of a place 'Euljiro'

The qualitative analysis showed that people had related themselves to the area or the anti-redevelopment movement via various direct or indirect connections. 14% of the tweets with the opposing stance toward the redevelopment mentioned a historical and cultural heritage. In these tweets, people mentioned that the manufacturing technology and culture that merchants have built up for the last decades are the historical and cultural heritage of the society. Some found the unique urban forms and structure, and the historical buildings per se, which are few remaining in Seoul, as part of the historical, cultural value of the area. The tweets mentioning historical values often regret that spaces with high values were being demolished only because they are old and worn out. The second most mentioned value was the functional value of the industry ecosystem supporting other fields of industries and economies, consisting of 11% of the total 'negative' tweets. Tweets in this category were divided into two groups based on whether a user revealed their identity as a professional or a student in art/design fields. The art/design group constituted around 70% of the tweets that mentioned the functional value of Euljiro. They argued that the shops and businesses in the manufacturing district are a part of the industry ecosystem that they are engaged in, and the redevelopment will have a direct negative impact on their industries and professions as a whole:

> @clorainow: Euljiro is a place where artists can purchase materials and explore their works while discussing with the engineers. Not an art major, I was able to grow up (as an artist) based on Euljiro. Please do not take the opportunity from artists under the name of redevelopment especially at this moment when the art industry is still not well established or recognized in this country.

The impact on the art/design industry described in the tweets varied from an individual to an industrial level. Some users said that they "have no idea about where to go to get the materials and services if Euljiro is going to be destroyed" (@pizzaberry_B), while the oth-

ers said that "the whole design industry will decline if the workshops in Euljiro disappear." (@sceneryoftoday) The remaining 30% of tweets mentioning the functional values did not reveal the users' identity in art/design fields. Still, the tweets showed that people in this group have learned about the Euljiro's roles and value as part of the industry ecosystem through different media and agree to protect the merchants given the high value of their role in the country's industry and culture:

> @kaitakhk1994: That Euljiro was a gathering of businesses of specialized skills in tools, lights, and Acryl. It is such a massive loss that the long-established network and shops run by highly specialized individual merchants just disappear.
>
> @Tcfcwing: It is very, very wrong for Mayor Park to demolish Euljiro. Of course, it may seem attractive that there are currently undeveloped places in the middle of Seoul, but it should not be viewed only from the perspective of the development logic. If small-scale manufacturing workshops are concentrated there and have been the driving force of the Korean industry, I think it should be protected.

However, some of the tweets explicitly argued that it is crucial to recognize that the industry ecosystem at the manufacturing district is not something to be conserved as the past but actively evolving in relationships with other industries. In a similar line of arguments, one tweet claimed that the redevelopment is the worst, but the conservation as a dead heritage would be the second-worst:

> @slowcoleslaw: Euljiro is not precious because it is old, but it has been creating value for a long time. So it is not because it is the past, but because it is the present with history, an alive ecosystem. If redevelopment is the worst, the logic of taxidermy and protection is the worst.

3.3.3 Anti-Redevelopment: against the country's culture of developmentalism

The deep antipathy for developmentalism ingrained in the country's history and politics was another common theme in the tweets with an opposing stance toward the redevelopment, consisting of 18% of the 'negative' tweets. In this group, tweets said that developmentalism has eradicated the culture and communities from the country's land and replaced them with nondescript high-rise buildings. In this line of argument, people often related the redevelopment in Euljiro to some of the recent redevelopment cases in Seoul, including the Yongsan disaster and the redevelopment of Pimatgol. In the Yongsan disaster, five people were killed, and numerous others were injured by the fire put by police commandos and privately hired security guards while they were in a sit-in protest demanding proper compensation for their properties under a redevelopment plan (I. Choi, 2017). Pimatgol was an old historic food alley located in Seoul. The city government renovated the street in 2003 into characterless concrete buildings, which were rebuked after being open again. Tweets often argued that the city should not forget about and repeat the Yongsan disaster or Pimatgol redevelopment:

> @_HERAYUN_: I thought of Euljiro redevelopment after I looked into the Yongsan disaster. I don't know what power the country has to demolish the world for living for people.
>
> @Uto28: People visiting Seoul are not coming just to see high-rise buildings. The city demolishes Pimatgol, demolishes Eulrjio, and constructs only high-rise buildings, then it deserves the critiques that Seoul has nothing to see.

These findings show that the public was relating the redevelopment of Euljiro to other violent redevelopment, evictions, and gentrifications that happened in the country in recent decades. These links helped them relate themselves to the redevelopment of the Euljiro district.

3.3.4 Confusion and doubts on the target of preservation

While only 2% of the 'opinion' tweets explicitly agreed with the redevelopment, their reasons for agreeing on the redevelopment was the need to renovate the blighted physical structures and safety issues they found in the area. This issue of physical blight also appeared in the group of tweets that expressed 'doubt' on agreeing or disagreeing with the redevelopment plan. Sixteen tweets out of fifty-five tweets in this doubt group questioned what exactly the people who advocated for the preservation of the area want to preserve:

> @ktotoreborn: I don't understand the anti-redevelopment flow. Are they asking just to stop the redevelopment for no reason? Asking to include the existing businesses in the plan? Or asking for just compensation for the existing businesses?
>
> @operationoxygen: I have no idea about what to preserve in Euljiro. I can only sympathize if they talk about the preservation of rights to live. The area needs renovation and improvement. How long would that be sustained? Think about the Cheongyecheon overpass.

Some of them questioned if the industry ecosystem would be sustainable even if the district were protected in its current way:

> @Fscloud: People who suddenly became aware of the redevelopment plan that had been around for ten years might feel sad about the situation , but... I wonder if people went there even if Euljiro was left as it was. Nevertheless, there are people who suffer from the redevelopment, so I hope that Seoul will listen to the merchants and make good decisions.

In addition, some of the 'doubts' tweets argued that the anti-redevelopment movement should attack the violent and suppressive process of the redevelopment rather than the preservation of the manufacturing district:

> @zondug: But is it right not to redevelop Cheonggyecheon and Euljiro? Are we just leaving it as a slum? It was so messy that it was scary to walk there, and the atmosphere was so gloomy. I think the problem is the way existing tenants are evicted in the redevelopment process, not the redevelopment per se.

These findings imply that the word 'preservation' is confusing social media users. The confusion might be caused by the fact that the target of preservation was often not clearly expressed in the short texts on Twitter or the industry ecosystem was too abstract to be comprehended by the people who do not have a direct relevant experience. Unlike the industry ecosystem frame, anyone could observe the simple fact of the old, worn-out appearance of the physical landscape. Regarding this confusion, one tweet pointed out that the frame of preservation that the PA had advocated does not fit what the PA desired to achieve because the PA seemed to put emphasis more on sustaining the industry ecosystem than on the preservation of the physical landscape of the area per set:

> @eejeim: I support the PA's activities, but the urban preservation campaign itself is complex, and it becomes even more difficult when it is related to maintenance projects. Looking at the requirements of solidarity, it seems more of a different way of development than conservation. Rather, it would be nice to change the name to the date of development. It does not seem like a preservation frame strategy.

Lastly, tweets also revealed the doubt on how representative the people who advocate for the values of the industry ecosystem are of the general public and whether they have the right to vocalize about the redevelopment. One argued that "it is not that every person in Korea uses the businesses in the manufacturing district." The other said that "the current anti-redevelopment flow is mostly led by the people in art and design fields." These tweets imply that the industry ecosystem is not something that everybody can relate to, so that it is not persuasive enough as a public asset to preserve. Some tweets even criticized younger

generations who are opposing the redevelopment of being hypocritical as they used to consume the area as a cultural commodity:

> @__bluesuede: It's been several years since the workshops in Euljiro were promoted as and rented for hipster stores because all of the hipsters came here. Then why are they asking to protect Euljiro now? Are they saying that It's okay that they exploit the image of Euljiro, and it is not okay that Mayor Park wants to be the next president?

However, some tweets countered these arguments, saying that people denying the legitimacy of participation of non-tenants lack understanding in the essence of this issue.

CHAPTER 4
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

4.1 Discussion

4.1.1 The capacity that the PA brought to the movement and its limitations

Interviews with the merchants in Euljiro and activists of the PA showed that their motives for participation and the results they aim for through the activism are not entirely consistent. However, they were able to cooperate because they agreed on the movement's goal: defending the rights of urban dwellers against violent redevelopment practices and preserving the industry ecosystem of Euljiro. While the merchants found the value of the industry ecosystem from the perspective of producers, the PA added the value of the industry ecosystem from a more structural perspective of the public value and users of urban spaces. The PA's join in the movement gave the movement the capacity to gather and garner external support from the broader audience. The PA delivered information about the demolition and eviction happening in the manufacturing district by using social media. Also, they tried to frame the issue as an urban public crisis, where the redevelopment would destroy the physical landscape and the right to live of the merchants and the industry ecosystem, which has public value as a social, cultural, and cultural economic asset. The social media analysis showed that the publicizing activity of the PA led to the increased public awareness, interest, and discussion around the struggle in Euljiro in general. Also, the discourse analysis on social media supported that the frame was something that people on social media related themselves to the struggle in Euljiro. The success of these publicizing activities on social media was manifested as active participation in their petition campaign, which resulted in the government's decision to pause the demolition and to revise the entire redevelopment plan. That governmental action was the most significant tangible political change that

the movement had accomplished, the case of Euljiro anti-redevelopment movement counters the skepticism found from the early literature that urban movement can hardly carry out actual changes in political/economic/physical conditions in urban spaces (Pahl, 1975; Saunders, 2006). At the same time, the members in the PA were relatively younger than the merchants, and they had a broader knowledge and experiences in social movements and urban policies. Therefore, the PA has a better awareness of other forces of changes playing in Euljiro, including the recent transformation into a trendy consumeristic place, and they were able to take this into account in their movement strategies. It was also natural for them to use social media in social movements since they already had done similar mobilization activities or gathered information about social agendas on social media. However, their use of social media was not strategic, and a media strategy was never discussed among the PA members until public interest in the redevelopment issue declined after the city government's announcement to pause the demolition. Some of the problems the PA faced in terms of their framing and media strategy were the followings: competition with the mainstream frames that the existing news media or the governments adopted; the limitations in communication with the public, the complex nature of the redevelopment issue in Euljiro; misperception that the redevelopment was stopped entirely after the government's announcement. It goes back and ties to the case study by VanHoose and Savini (2017) in Amsterdam and London, where she found that when an urban movement tried to channel the public attention earned via wider agenda setting into the central goal of protecting a particular space, they needed to adopt meticulous media strategies to accomplish the goal. These findings imply that social media can not create change nor sustain localized activism for a long term span by itself, but it can work together with other strategies to accomplish the impacts.

4.1.2 Discourse on social media: extended support, heterogeneous meanings, and conflicts

The qualitative analysis demonstrated that there are various possibilities that localized activism aiming to stop the destruction of a place can reach people beyond the physical boundary of the space at issue and extend the network of support. People in art/design fields were the group that most actively expressed support to the anti-redevelopment movement. They were aware of how important the manufacturing market was to their works or their field of work from their own experiences and shared the experiences on Twitter. Destruction of the manufacturing market was deemed as economic damage they would suffer and as ignorance and threat from the government to the art/design industries. The 'industry ecosystem' framing of the PA well captured the expected damage and loss, and it is possibly assumed that the framing widened the basis of support to the movement. The extended interest group was one of the characteristics found in the recent cases of urban movements, as well as in the social movements on social media in general (Carroll and Hackett, 2006; Tufekci, 2021). Personal experiences shared on Twitter also provide local knowledge that guides the public through the concept of the industry ecosystem and how it constitutes different public values. These topics are complex and not well represented by existing data, so that become difficult to grasp for the public unless they are already part of the industry ecosystem or have social connections to it. Social media has led the way in sharing this experiential data, creating local knowledge, and before mainstream media listened to it, it quickly introduced this information to the public. Researchers found that local knowledge is one of the critical functions of social media in activism, providing the activists with data to communicate the reality of their struggles with other actors. Also, the stories of others can help people to empathize and relate themselves to the issue more efficiently. In this light, sharing experiences online to show solidarity can constitute an act of participation in a broader definition in addition to explicit actions of participation as signing a petition or participating in events in physical space. People who did not have a personal interest in the manufacturing district tended to oppose the redevelopment more of-

ten in support of its public value as heritage and shared antipathy to the developmentalism than supporting the preservation of specific aspects of Euljiro. The reason associated with the anti-redevelopment stance most often was historical/cultural value and shared antipathy toward developmentalism. The redevelopment in Euljiro was often related to the previous cases of violent redevelopment that had replaced old neighborhoods, memories, and social fabric grounded in the place with high-rise buildings. The anti-redevelopment movement in Euljiro appealed to the larger public due to this shared memory of loss and antipathy toward speculative urbanization. This finding contrasts to the case of the anti-gentrification movement by Han (2017), where the public was largely indifferent or even hostile toward the movement. Unlike the anti-redevelopment movement in Euljiro, the anti-gentrification movement was still perceived as an individual struggle despite the efforts of the group of activists to frame the movement as an urban public crisis. However, the findings of this study and Han's study are in complementary relationship rather than in direct comparison because the nature of digital media investigated in the studies was disparate. In her research, Han investigated an online community that tends to be more homogeneous and less easy to join than social networking sites like Twitter. However, the study did not address whether the fact that larger public shared opposing stance toward the redevelopment helped the PA and the merchants accomplish their goals to stop the redevelopment and preserve the way of living in the manufacturing district. Early studies in social movements found that the strategy to frame a localized struggle into a broader social issue can diminish the cohesiveness of the supporting network and hinder the movement to achieve the changes in material conditions they wanted to achieve in the first place (VanHoose and Savini, 2017). One way to channel the negativity that the public expressed toward the redevelopment to the actual changes in material conditions would be its dataification through a survey or analytics of social media data Karpf, 2018; Maharawal and McElroy, 2018; D'Ignazio and Klein, 2020. There was an ongoing online survey on how people in art/design fields use the manufacturing market found on Twitter during this study, but it goes beyond the scope of this study.

On the other hand, public discourse on Twitter also contained confusions about the PA's agendas. From some tweets and interviews, I found that the heterogeneous audience and the complexity in the struggle were associated with the confusion. There was also adversity among people who opposed the redevelopment but did not share perspectives and experiences. Unclear, fragmented communication about what to be preserved in Euljiro raised questions. The arguments that emphasized the manufacturing district's value in the current industry ecosystem were found to conflict with the preservation frame advocated by the PA; people qualified their support to the anti-redevelopment movement led by the PA because they believed some kinds of physical intervention were needed for the manufacturing market to be sustained. Also, tweets emphasizing the importance of the market at an individual level without providing sufficient explanation of how the personal experiences are related to the value of the industry ecosystem at the social level caused negative opinions on the people in art/design fields and their support for the anti-redevelopment movement. This finding also ties to the earlier discussion regarding local knowledge in urban activism in this study, and the way of communicating local knowledge with the external audience in activism still needs to be explored further. Karpf, 2018; Maharawal and McElroy, 2018; D'Ignazio and Klein, 2020. These conflicts can also raise questions about what additional information or communication strategy could have helped the PA resolve the doubts and convince the public better.

4.1.3 Attention, participation, struggles on social media in the urban movement

The two participatory events organized on social media, the petition campaign, and the poster rally, had substantial impacts on the struggles in Euljiro. The petition campaign impacted the government's redevelopment plan and implementation. The poster rally was an event where the external support gathered online was translated into the physical presence of the movement. The effects of participatory actions in the movement counteract the criticism that urban movements cannot lead to changes in material conditions of urban affairs

(Pahl, 1975; Saunders, 2006). However, both events involved participation through online channels, such as submitting an online form or a digital file of a poster, but not a participation in the physical space. I did not examine whether the interest and support increased online led to participation in the PA's physical events organized in Eulijro. Some tweets expressed a willingness to participate in street marches and protests, but they constituted a marginal portion of the participation tweets. Instead, the physical engagement triggered by the news of destruction in Euljiro was more often an act of visiting old restaurants and streets before they got demolished. This finding suggests that for general people, their reaction to the loss of place is more likely to accept the change passively and have a desire to consume the place before it disappears than to take any action to protect the place. Looking into the cases of other urban movements where social media were used to organize collective actions in physical space, the difference between the struggle in Euljiro and theirs is that their central struggles were going to directly affect local residents in forms of environmental destruction, government corruption, and the economic or social damage that illegal large-scale development would bring to their community (Cardona, 2013; Hewitt, 2012). Thus, the citizens mobilized by the social media activities were primarily local residents who were under the direct influence of the expected intervention. In contrast, Euljiro's opposition to redevelopment and discussions on preservation of industrial ecosystems did not contain that level of direct damage on people except for the people in art/design fields. The redevelopment was going to benefit some of the residents with the improvement of infrastructure and economic growth. Lastly, the attention gathered to Eulrjio's struggle did not last long, especially after the attention was crystallized into participatory actions and led to a reaction from the government, the attention quickly disseminated. This finding is consistent with the limitations of social movements on social media found in previous studies (Tufekci, 2013; Lim, 2013). However, in the case of the Euljiro's anti-redevelopment movement, this fast dissemination of attention can be attributed to the government's misinformation about the cessation of the demolition: even after the government announced to

pause the implementation of the plan, the PA reported that the demolition never stopped in the area. In addition, the fact that Euljiro had different forces of transforming the area into different directions and framing that support each direction also caused hardship to the PA to keep the attention to the frame of industry ecosystem and anti-redevelopment movement Euljiro. Moreover, even when it comes to the redevelopment agenda, the finding from this study that a large number of tweets shared news articles from other news media and sourced information about the struggle from them implies that an urban movement should construct their social media strategy based on in consideration of other media and other frames advocated by them.

4.2 Conclusion

This study investigated the anti-redevelopment movement in South Korea as a case of contemporary urban movements that incorporated social media as part of their activism. The recent increase of attention to urban movements from civil societies reflects the importance of democratic participation in contemporary urban governance. It is also a manifestation of heightened urban crisis, especially regarding the growing neo-liberal urban governance and privatization of urban space. Despite the specific context of urbanization in different cities worldwide, the common trend in contemporary movements is that they often reach out to the public and create a supportive network beyond the physical boundary of the place where each struggle is situated. Studies have reported that social media has leveraged these changes. The redevelopment in Euljiro manufacturing districts provided an example of urban movements carrying the recent trend of extended interest groups and external supports via digital media. In this context, this study first questioned how different parties in an urban movement imposed disparate interests and desires on a place. The parties were the tenants, the activists, and general citizens. In parallel, the study questioned how the activists used social media in their activism and its effects on the shape of discourse around the struggle. I combined interviews and social media analyses, using social media either as a ground

for public discourse or as a communication tool for activists. Then I discussed the results with the frame of 'analytical activism,' where a researcher intends to listen to the public through data and find better activism strategies. The study found that the merchants and the PA were able to collaborate despite their different interests and relationships with the place Euljiro because they agreed on the movement's goals: defending the rights of urban dwellers against violent redevelopment practices and preserving the industry ecosystem of Euljiro. The PA framed the struggle to defend the rights to life of the merchants into a strive to protect an 'industry ecosystem' which encompasses a broader range of interests in the manufacturing district and their way of living. This new frame earned extensive support from young people in art/design fields on social media, which effectively extended the interest group in the redevelopment of Euljiro. They expressed support to the movement by sharing their personal experiences with the manufacturing district, which constituted local knowledge that possibly reinforces the frame of the industry ecosystem. Meanwhile, the general public focused more on the forced demolition, eviction, and destruction of the old community that happened in Euljiro. They recognized the situation as part of the repeating history of violent developments in South Korea, which destroys the community and way of life in the old neighborhood. I did not examine whether the sympathy led them to participate in the movement or affected the movement somehow. I also found confusion and qualified opinions regarding what values or objects in Euljiro should be preserved. There were arguments around legitimate participation existed as well. These conflicts manifested the hardship that an urban movement, especially struggling with the redevelopment of a particular space, faces when it tries to reach the public beyond the boundary of physical space and the direct interest group. It is noteworthy that people also expressed support for the redevelopment or at least the physical renovation. They pursued values like safety and sustainability, which are also crucial to the quality of urban lives. Nevertheless, the PA's use of social media led to a drastic increase in the volume of public interests and opinions on social media, which was initially dominated by other activities even after the destruction

began. The PA used social media for four purposes: information sharing, publicizing agendas and frames, organizing collective actions, and pressing governmental bodies online. There was no particular motive for the PA members to use social media in their activism. Instead, it happened naturally as they utilized the resources that the members already had in their previous social movements and online communications experiences. It was also an effective way for the PA who did not have a fixed set of members or structure to increase their presence within the public discourse around Euljiro.

The attention and support gathered on social media were crystallized into massive participation in the PA's petition campaign and the poster rally, which contributed to the government's decision to pause the redevelopment. This finding supports the argument that online activism can impact urban governance and development, as other case studies have demonstrated. However, the participation remained online and did not last long enough to support other collective actions that the PA organized later, limiting activism on social media. The later struggles the PA faced also emphasized the limitation in activism on social media and a need for more strategic use of social media. Both interview and social media analysis showed that the public interest rapidly disseminated after the government announced to pause the plan. The PA put efforts to attract attention back to their agendas, but it was not easy. Also, it was hard to communicate the complex nature of the struggle in Euljiro to the public online. The public also expressed the hardship of grasping the situation. Lastly, people on social media were still sourcing their information from existing news media, and the PA needed to compete with their frames.

The study has several limitations. First, the online discourse analysis was conducted only on Twitter. The number of users on Twitter is relatively lower than that of other social media platforms in South Korea, but the distribution of users' age was less skewed toward younger generations compared to others. Comparing discourse on different social media might render the discourse analysis more exhaustive, but the approach also involves limitations due to the different nature and content types on each platform. Another limitation

is the small number of interviewees. My limited capacity in conducting and analyzing interviews constrained the number. It would have provided a more thorough answer to the research questions to add interviews with the PA members from art/design fields or with citizens who participated in the collective actions. Despite the limitations, the study contributes to the existing literature on social media activism and urban movements. There has been a growing number of case studies that have reported urban movements and their use of social media, but with VanHoose and Savini (2017) 's study, this study is one of the few studies that closely analyze how different parties react and adjust to the changing media landscape in an urban movement. The discussion in this study adds to further discussion of how localized activism can be more effective. Some ideas included a strategic approach of using multiple media outlets and enhancing local knowledge creation. The analytical activism framework was also one way that activism can improve its strategies using social media data. Planning researchers have adopted similar approaches to support planners' decision-making (Evans-Cowley and Griffin, 2012), but not many have done so to enhance citizens' capacity to impact urban governance. The methods used in this study, combining social media analysis and interviews, can be used in other studies that aim to understand public discourse on a particular topic.

Additional research may augment or advance this study. First, the network of people and organizations involved in the movement is crucial in studying activism dynamics but excluded from this study. Existing research on social media activism focused on the network among actors and found that the structure of the network correlates with the structure of discourse, the way movements procure resources and make changes throughout the struggles (Karduni and Sauda, 2020; Starbird and Palen, 2012). Also, further studies can examine the effect of each social media strategy suggested in the discussion through experiments. Some potential research questions are the impact of a social media strategy or content on individuals' stance toward the situation of struggle and the movement; whether social media users have different knowledge and interpretation about an urban transformation from

non-users. The kinds of hypothesis testing study could guide urban movement activists with better decision-making and media strategies. I believe that studies of bottom-up actions in urban development, including this study, can help not only citizens and activists but also practitioners and researchers in the planning profession. All the actors need to collaborate to combat public urban crises in contemporary cities. I hope this study can add supports to widen the definition of democratic participation of citizens in urban governance and encourage the planning profession to be more responsive to the evolving activism and media landscape that shapes the public discourse and participatory practices in societies.

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